9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 spirit of the dead, so that it may come in the capacity of a 'Kuid', or demon, to cause pain and calamity to the family. This sacrifice is frequently repeated after a person's death, if his bones were deposited in a small repository; but if they are placed in a large one, the fear of his injuring the family is not so great, and the sacrifice is not so frequent, because 'la buh ka niam ka rukum', the religion and customs were observed regarding him."

Extract from the Rev. J. Pryse's Paper, p. 130.—"The reader is desired to observe that this form is always pronounced, when the person on pronouncing it is in the act of offering his thankofferings; hence it was thought necessary to give a few explanations of the movements of the speaker."

"*Thank Offering to Secure the Protection of the Goddess.*"

(The Khasia words are, "Ka jing-ngub pynskem ia ka blei"; the offering is made in order to secure the kind offices of the goddess in the future, rather than to acknowledge past kindness.)

"Attend, O Goddess, that thou mayest protect us all as a family,* that we may increase and prosper. O Goddess, we are now about to sacrifice a large cock, and a large horned goat, also a plaintain leaf, flour, baked rice, a heart, and a twig. Do thou, O Goddess, attend to us. I put up and cause to stand the offering for the purpose of appeasing thee, O Goddess.† O thou family-builder, I remove and drive away thirty demons, nine demons,‡ and Ka Tyrút Ka Smer,§ that I may prepare and set aright the intestines, that I may cut the throat of the cock, and sprinkle the blood upon the twig.‖ Away, thou Ka Tyrút ka Smer! I sweep away and remove thee, that I may open a clear road for the purpose of inquiring concerning the good and the evil. Thus it is proper that I should sacrifice a large horned goat. Attend thou, O Goddess, whilst I offer to thee a member and the backbone after I shall have laid it bare and made it ready.¶ Attend thou, whilst I observe and keep the rules and customs, and whilst I offer to thee a sacrifice in order that thou mayest give us

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* "All as a family", "barah shi kur", "ka kur", is generally used among the Khasis to signify all those who are related by blood.

† Whilst saying these words, the officer prepares the place, and causes the goat, etc., to stand by the place. (See Lev. xvi, 7.)

‡ The offerer, whilst saying this, throws some rice on the ground to pacify the evil spirits, and drive them away, lest they should desecrate the sacrifice and ceremonies. "Laipen kuid kyndai kuid"—here neither thirty nor nine should be regarded as the exact number, but both signify any number indefinitely great; much in like manner as the number one thousand was regarded by the Jews, and as that number is occasionally used in Scripture. The phrase, "kyndai kuid", nine demons, seems to be an old phraseology, the exact meaning of which is not known at present; but "laipen kuid", thirty demons, is the common phrase in use to signify an indefinitely great number—it means *all*.

§ The name of one of the most powerful and malignant demons.

‖ Whilst speaking thus, the officer kills the cock, and sprinkles the blood as described above.

¶ The officer's hands are busily employed in preparing his sacrifice whilst he utters the above speech.

[p. 3]

CHAPTER I

According to traditions preserved by the local people, the Iangblah clan were the first settlers in Mawphlang. The Lyngdohs were invited to come and settle as the Iangblahs wanted priests to perform proper worship for their village. Other clans came later and settled in the State. These old clans are known as Khadar Kur. Myntris are elected from the following four clans—Iangblah, Khar Shiing, Khar Hunai and Khar Sohlia. The above traditions of the origin of the settlement were furnished by the myntri U Subu Rai, his sister's husband U Alisson and others. The list of Khadar Kur furnished by the myntri is noted below :—

(1) Iangblah.	(2) Lyngdoh.	(3) Khar Shiing.
(4) Khar Hunai	(5) Khar Sohlia.	(6) Khar Phannap.
(7) Khar Kynnie.	(8) Khar Sahkhar.	(9) Marbaniang.
(10) Khar Narbi.	(11) Khar Mawphlang.	(12) Khar Syntiew.

The genealogy of myntri U Subu Rai, of myntri U Orong Singh and others are shown at the end of this chapter. In collecting kinship terms, three questions were asked of the informant :

(i). What is the relationship of B to the informant A (and of A to B). This is shown in the tables as the kinship term.

(ii). What the informant A called B (and conversely). This is shown in the tables as the term of address.

(iii). How the informant A referred to the relationship of B to C, another relative. This is shown as the term of reference.

Generally the terms for (i) and (iii) are the same. In a few instances a distinction was said to be made. Many people however do not observe such distinctions. In the list of kinship terms published by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, this distinction has not been made. While his list agrees with mine in many respects, there are important differences. He has noted certain identities in kinship terms, which I did not find, and which have not been noted also in the Census Report.

The kinship system of the Khasis has certain special features:

(a) There is a clear distinction drawn in the kinship terms, with regard to seniority and juniority in age between siblings. This distinction is also made in the generation above that of the speaker, with regard to the mother's sisters, and father's brothers and their spouses. It is also observed with regard to the mother's brothers but not with regard to the father's sisters or the spouses, or their children. The distinction is however observed throughout in terms of address.

(b) A woman refers to her sister's children by the same term as a man to his brother's children; but a woman refers to her brother's children by a different term, which is applied also by her brother to her children.

(c) Certain kin are grouped together. The same term, for example is applied to the mother, step mother, the mother's sisters, and the wives of the brothers of the father. Similarly, the father, the step father, the father's brothers and the husbands of the mother's sisters are grouped together. In both cases, the actual father and mother are referred to by a term, to which adjectives denoting seniority and juniority are added for the other relatives. The mother's brother and the father's sister's husband have a common term. But the mother's brother is always distinguished by adding the adjective of age noting his position as elder or younger uncle. The father's sister's husband is not so distinguished. The sister of the father is clearly distinguished

B. Chattopadhyay 3-4, 5 (no date) 1941 A87 Khasi A87

from the wife of mother's brother by a term denoting relationship through the father. The mother's brother's wife was stated by my informants in Mawphlang not to be denoted by the term "Kha" or "Knia Kha" which was applied only to the father's sister. She was merely Knia.

(d) A man and his wife applied to the brothers and sisters of the spouse, with one exception the same terms (with a term added to qualify) of relationship as for own brothers and sisters. This practice is extended also to the children of these relatives. The exception occurs with regard to the term used by a man towards his sister's husband, and by the latter to him. It is a single special term, the distinction extending to the term of address. In these cases, the qualifying term even is dropped in address and no distinction is then made between a sister and the wife's sister, or a brother and the husband's brother.

In order to appreciate the significance of features of Khasi Kinship, it is necessary to note in brief, the rules of descent, inheritance, and succession among the Khasis. An excellent summary of these have been given by Gurdon. The rules of inheritance and land tenure have been further elucidated by Cantlie and others in the work already mentioned. I shall illustrate essential points in the next chapter with reference to the genealogies included in this paper, and also note certain additional details which were observed by me.

Abbreviations used in the kinship table are those employed in an earlier paper. They are noted below :—

F—father.	M—mother.	B—brother.
S—sister.	Z—sister.	D—daughter.
H—husband.	W—wife.	C—child.
e—elder.	y—younger.	s—sister.
m.s.—man speaking.	w.s.—woman speaking.	

The prefixes U and Ka have not been noted in the case of most of the kinship terms as superfluous.

60/ In the genealogies Ka before a name denotes a woman, and U. a man. Hence no special symbols have been used to distinguish sex. Abbreviations used are :—

[128] d.—died. s.c.—not remembered. s.b.—not known.
d.y.—died young. unm.—unmarried. s.l.—no issue.

Unless the village of birth is stated to be otherwise, it is Mawphlang.

Relationship	Kinship term	Term of address	Term of reference
F.	U Kpa	I Kpa or Ba Kpa	— (a)
M.	U Khun.	Ba Khun.	—
D.	Ka Khun.	Ba Khun.	—
H.	I Mei.	I Mei.	Ba Sumi. (b)
M.e.B.	Mei Ion.	Ba Mei Ion.	Ba Sumi Ion.
M.y.B.	Mei Nah.	Ba Mei Nah.	Ba Sumi Nah.
y.S.s. (w.s.)	Khun Nah.	Ba Khun Nah.	—
e.S.Z. (w.s.)	Khun Nah.	Ba Khun Nah.	—
y.S.D. (w.s.)	"	"	—
e.S.D. (w.s.)	"	"	—
M.e.B.	Ma Sanglot.	I Ma Sanglot.	U Mei (c)
M.y.B.	Ma Khynnah.	I Ma Khynnah.	U Mei.
y.S.Z. (m.s.)	Pyun.	Ba Pyun.	—
e.T.Z. (m.s.)	Pyun.	Ba Pyun.	—
y.S.D. (m.s.)	"	"	—
e.S.D. (m.s.)	"	"	—
M.e.B.W.	I Pa.	Ba Pa.	Pa.
M.e.S.Z.	Pyun.	Ba Pyun.	—
M.y.S.Z.	"	"	—
M.e.S.D.	"	"	—
M.y.S.D.	"	"	—
M.e.F.M.	Pa Sun.	Ba Pa Sun	—

Relationship	Kinship term	Term of address	Term of reference
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Relationship	Kinship term.	Term of address.	Term of reference.
E.B.	—	—	—
M. Brd E.	Pa Khynnah.	Ko Pa Khynnah.	—
W. Ist. E.C.	Khun Rait.	Ko Khun Rait.	—
M. Ist. E.	Pa San.	Ko Pa San.	—
W. Snd E.C.	Khun Rath.	Ko Khun Nait.	—

(a) Myntri U Babu Rai insisted on the form I Kpa and similar forms for certain relatives as noted. (Kpa—Pa).

(b) The kinship term and term of reference was not distinguished by younger informants.

(c) The kinship term and term of reference was not distinguished by younger informants. Two Christian informants gave the term Mama in place of Kni and Rangbah. It is the Bengali and Assamese term for the M.B.

(d) No distinction was made by age.

(e) No distinction by age. Younger informants said that "Kni" was also used in place of "Ma".

(f) No difference according to sex of speaker. But some of the younger informants stated Hynniem to be the kinship term in place of Bah and Kong for e.B. and e.S. and also M.S.Z. and M.S.D. if older.

(g) The older informants gave these terms. Young men and women failed to distinguish between kinship terms and those of address occasionally.

(h) The husband and wife address each other as parents of the children.

Genealogy I(a)

Ii: Chattopadhyay I-4, 5 (no date) 1941 ART Khasi ART

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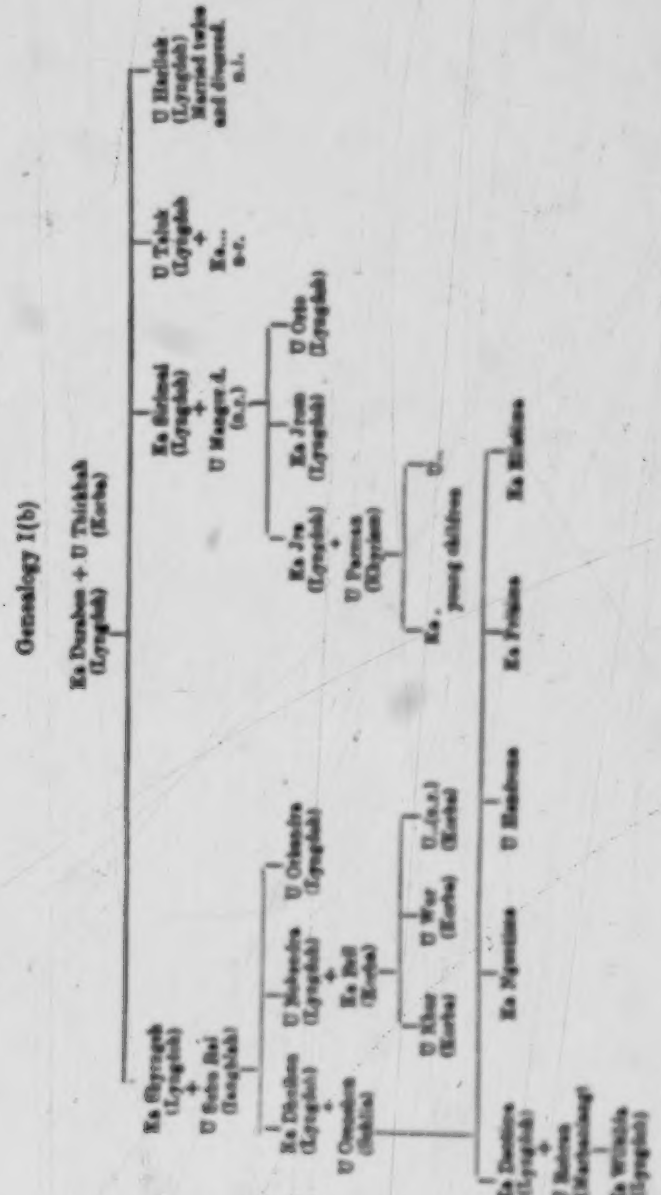
Genealogy I(b)
Ka Dunkon + U Thirkhah (Lyngkhi)
Ka Ophyngah (Lyngkhi) + U Soho Rai (Lyngkhi)
Ka Dienkon (Lyngkhi) + U Onnokon (Khasi)
U Nohsohra (Lyngkhi) + Ka Rai (Lyngkhi)
U Khar (Lyngkhi)
U Orlasohra (Lyngkhi)
U War (Lyngkhi)
U (n.r.) (Lyngkhi)
Ka Rabiad (Lyngkhi) + U Mangrad (n.r.)
U Tirkhah (Lyngkhi) + Ka... n.r.
U Harkhah (Lyngkhi) Married twice and disputed n.r.
Ka Jra (Lyngkhi) + U Pateus (Khynm)
Ka Jrem (Lyngkhi)
U Orlo (Lyngkhi)
Ka ... young children
U Rankhon
Ka Nyrmiaw
Ka Phiaw
Ka Ehkiaw
Ka Dentiew (Lyngkhi) + U Rakon (Mechaneng)
Ka Wrikhah (Lyngkhi)

Ik Chatterjee E-4, 5 (no date) 1961 ART Khasi ART

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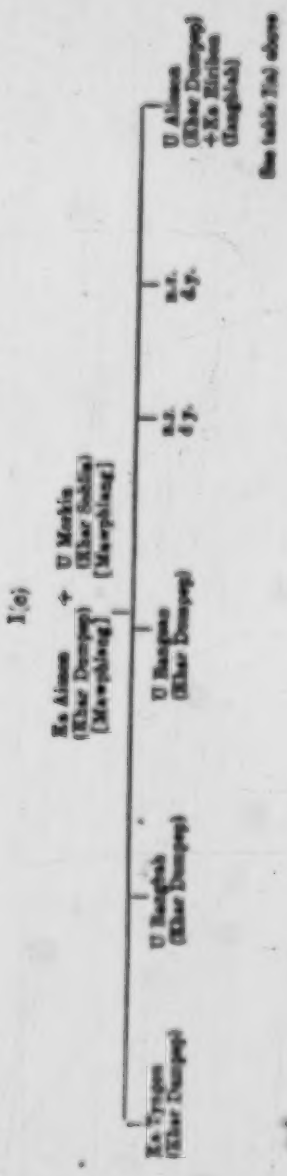
I (c)
Ka Ainam (Khar Dympep) [Mawphlang]
+
U Merkin (Khar Sohlin) [Mawphlang]
U Ainam (Khar Dympep) + Ka Kirikon (Jaiphlah)
See table I(a) above
U Rangsan (Khar Dympep)
U Rangkah (Khar Dympep)
Ka Tyngan (Khar Dympep)

II(a)

Ka Jir + U Jon
(Khar Hunai) (Khar Sohra)
[Mawphlang] [Myellium]
Ka Sariman (Khar Hunai) + U Nijai (Jaintia) see Table II(b)
Ka Lakreh + U Nah (Lyngdoh) [Mawphlang] (Khar Hunai)
U Phrom + Ka Pita (Khar Hunai) (Khar Syntu) [Mairang]
U Jrom + Ka Himai (Khar Hunai) (Khyriem) [Mynsap]
Ka Jem ? Ka Em ? U Will Ka Kei n.r. n.r. n.r. n.r. n.r. n.r. n.r. U (Nothing more known to informant)
U Basan Ka Sajar (Khyriem) + U Shrem (Korba) [Marbisu] U Bahan U Jasan
1. Ka Rentmai d. + U (Jongwing (Khar Shiling) (Khar Hunai)
2. Ka Jhen + See table III(c)
Ka Hoolhan (Khar Hunai) + U Ramo (Lyngdoh) [Mawphlang]
U Nongsiang (Khar Hunai) d. + Ka San. d. (Jaintia) [Mawphlang]
Ka Kinh (Khar Hunai) unm
U Kongsiang (Khar Hunai) + Ka Kmen (Khar Lyngngai) [Nongkseh]
Ka Wanbon (Khar Hunai) d. unm
U Owan
Ka Ber
Ka Sien
Ka... (n.r.)
Ka Phi (Khar Hunai) + U Kmen [Syntong, Jowai]
Ka Kini Ka Ini Ka Pri Ka Kwili Ka Hinh Ka Hien U Jrar U Jarar
Ka Rabika

II(b)

Ka Sariman + U Nijai
(Khar Hunai) (Iangblah)
[Mawphlang]
Ka Krip
(Khar Hunai)
+U En
(Khar Iong)
[Mawphlang]
m.i.
U On
(Khar Hunai)
+Ka Kiri
(Lyngdoh)
[Mawphlang]
Ka Meriam
(Lyngdoh)
Ka Thai
(Lyngdoh)
Ka Le
(Lyngdoh)
U Phuin
(Lyngdoh)
Ka Ker
(Khar Hunai)
+U Lashondro
(Marbaniang)
[Marpna]
U Niom
d. unm
Ka Pren
(Khar Hunai)
+U Krat
(Sun)
[Marbisu]
U Wodring
(Khar Hunai)
+Ka Prer
(Khar Shiing)
[Mawphlang]
U Rer
(Khar Hunai)
U Lesto
(Khar Hunai)
Ka Jnger
(Khar Hunai)
U Besto
(Khar Hunai)
Ka Ien
(Khar Hunai)
U Parder
(Khar Hunai)
U Harshing
(Khar Hunai)
Ka Phnger
(Khar Hunai)
Ka Tak
(Khar Hunai)
Ka Iar
(Khar
Shiing)
Ka Klur
(Khar
Shiing

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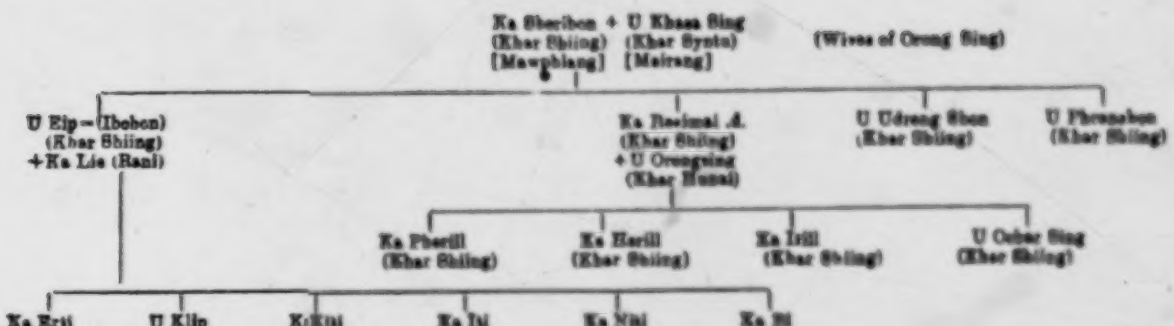
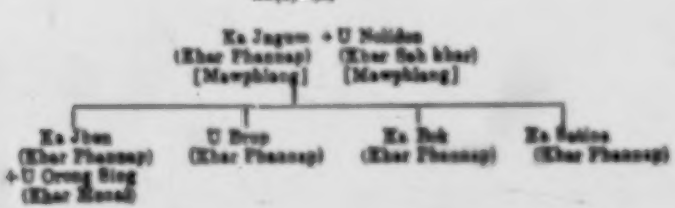
II(c) (.I.)


Ka Sheribon + U Khaa Sing
(Khar Shiing) (Khar Synta)
[Mawphlang] [Mairang]
(Wives of Orong Sing)
U Eip – (Ibobon)
(Khar Shiing)
+Ka Lie (Rani)
Ka Reslmai A.
(Khar Shiing)
+ U Orongsing
(Khar Mansi)
U Udrong Shon
(Khar Shiing)
U Phrasabon
(Khar Shiing)
Ka Pherill
(Khar Shiing)
Ka Herill
(Khar Shiing)
Ka Irill
(Khar Shiing)
U Ushar Sing
(Khar Shiing)
Ka Erti
(Rani)
U Klip
(Rani)
Ka Kiti
(Rani)
Ka Iti
(Rani)
Ka Niti
(Rani)
Ka Iti
(Rani)

II(c) (2)


Ka Jagun + U Nolidon
(Khar Phanap) (Khar Sob khar)
[Mawphlang] [Mawphlang]
Ka Jhon
(Khar Phanap)
+ U Orong Sing
(Khar Mansi)
U Brup
(Khar Phanap)
Ka Bah
(Khar Phanap)
Ka Salim
(Khar Phanap)

III

IV

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removal of the bar on remarriage was also of the same kind elsewhere in the neighbouring States. Clearly, the idea of levirate or sororate is incompatible with this idea of the marriage bond continuing even after death and necessitating a ceremony to break it. It may also be noted that while the Khasis permit divorce somewhat easily, remarriage is not permitted of either party "within the family of the divorced husband or wife" (G). A Khasi cannot also marry two sisters, although he can marry irregularly, more than one woman and also the wife's sister after the decease of the wife. We can now discuss why a woman or a man refers to the brothers and sisters of the husband or wife by the kinship terms used by the spouse, qualified by a special term. When a man marries and goes to live in the house of his wife's mother, he comes in contact with unmarried sisters of the wife. But he knows that they are sexually to be avoided. He lives in the wife's mother's house only during the life time of his wife. A wife's sister is comparable to a Kur sister sexually, during this period.

But his economic relations and religious ties require that a distinction should be made between these "sisters" and the "Kur sisters." The qualifying term supplies this requirement. The woman, on the other hand, has no direct relations with her husband's brothers. She has however to keep in touch with the husband's female relatives. The homes of the husband go over to the mother's house and eventually to the clan ossuary. The husband is also a potential manager of the property of his female relatives. She has therefore to take note of the order in age of her husband's sisters. As her husband uses the terms for sisters for the sisters-in-law, it is quite natural for her to extend such usage to her husband's sisters. The brothers of the husband do not count at all so far as the woman is concerned, and she will not therefore have any special term for them. As the sisters are referred to as Para Kynsi and Hynnam Kynsi, so will the brothers of the husband be referred to by similar terms. The absence of any sexual privileges between the woman and her

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CHAPTER III

It is evident from the discussions in the previous chapter, that the children born in a house have to take note, as they grow up, of the seniority and juniority among the sisters of the mothers, and also of the brothers of the mother. They have however very little relation with the brothers of the father, and so have to explain why the latter are classed with the father. This point will be discussed later. Here we may note that the relative lack of importance of the father's sisters has resulted in her not receiving distinction by age in the table of kinship terms; it is however indicated in address. Similarly the wife of the mother's brother is also not distinguished by age.

It may however be questioned why such a distinction by age is extended to the husband of the mother's sister. As noted before, a Khasi does not set up a separate home until one or two children are born. The children who are born in the house of mother's mother, are looked after like mothers, not only by the progenitress but her sisters. While there would arise no confusion as to who is the actual mother, it would be normal for the children to call the mother and her sisters by the same term which would thus cover the women of that generation who live in the house. Each little child would find its mother's sister addressed as "mother" by its playmate and cousin. Since he is the child who has to extend the term to the mother's sister from the mother. Under such circumstances, the simplest mode of distinction would be to apply the term "mother" to the actual relation, and add qualifying adjectives for the sisters of the mother. The Khasis use for the purpose, quite appropriately, terms denoting seniority and juniority for women previously stated. Reciprocally, a woman uses the same terms for

her children and sister's children, using an additional term for the latter, to make the distinction clear. The mother's brother's wife, and the father's sister live elsewhere, and cannot therefore share the same kinship term with the mother. The husbands of the mother's sisters are comparable to the father, as these males are all outsiders who have married the women of the house. The actual father "U Kpa" is the husband of the actual mother "Ka Kmie" and is clearly distinguished. The others are the husbands of the "Kmie San" and "Kmie Nah." Hence they are given the labels of "Kpah San" and "Kpa Nah" or "Kpa Khynnah." They derive their kinship terms denoting "father" through their wives who are called mothers by the children—not through any sexual rights on the wife's sisters. Such sexual rights, as noted before, have no existence. Hudson is not justified in searching the identity of kinship terms to alleged marriage rules and sexual rights which were operative in a hypothetical earlier type of Khasi society.

The mother's brother is important to the Khasi child, and has a special name, Ma, with no adjective such as Rongbah to indicate his position among his brothers. His relation with his sister's children is different from that of the mother's sister's husbands. It is more or less formal and ceremonial. A similar relation, on the father's side of the family, is the father's sister, though her position is not so important. Nevertheless, the two relations are comparable. The mother's brother is in charge of the management of the mother's ancestral property and helps in performing important social ceremonies for the group. The father's sister is the repository of the house of the father's family; in her is vested the preservation of the family religious traditions. Both these relatives live in [illegible] and are, in a sense, of other households. Each of them was born in the natal house of one of the parents. They are therefore clearly distinguished from the father, the mother, the sisters of the mother and their husbands. But a common term, allowing

for difference in sex, is applied to both. The corresponding male and aunt by marriage are referred to by terms which make this clear. The husband of the father's sister is a "Ma" like the mother's brother and is also referred to as "Kni." But as his position by age is unimportant, the adjective of position is lacking in his case. Similarly the mother's brother's wife and the father's sister have a common term "Nia"; but the latter has her relationship through the father closely indicated by the additional term "Kha" which refers to kinship through a male. The mother's brother's wife is, on the contrary, an aunt by marriage. The husband of the father's sister derives his term through his wife; and the wife of the mother's brother, through her husband. The identities M.B. = F.S.H. and M.B.W. = F.S. are therefore derived indirectly and are not original. Hodson's hypothesis that they represent actual identity of kinship in an earlier dual society therefore seems not to be supported.

Reciprocally, a man refers to his sister's children by a term which is different from that for his own children. A woman also refers to her brother's children by this term which is different from that used for her own or her sister's children. As indicated, the M.B. as well as the F.S. are both on a parallel footing, and are practically labelled together, allowing for differences of sex.

We may say that there are, in Khasi society, two closely integrated units. One of these is the house and household, where the men and women have been born. Inside this house group, the sisters have similar rights, actual as well as potential. As we have seen, on the death of one sister [illegible] female issue, another sister takes her place in continuing the traditional religious entity of the group. The brothers again, mostly themselves, take one another's place in succession, in the matter of authority, and of management of the family property. The other unit is that of the woman, her husband and the children. We may refer to it as the unit set up by marriage.

among Khasis. Even the Garos whom he cites apparently as representing a type of social organization which the Khasis had earlier, do not encourage marriage with the father's sister's daughter. There is also no evidence that a Khasi ever married his mother's brother's widow. As I have shown earlier, the marriage prohibitions regarding cross-cousins can be explained on the basis of existing social and economic forces in Khasi society. The rule regarding exclusion of the F.B.D.D. merely states that a woman cannot marry the son of her pure Kha. It is not a new prohibition.

We may now state the reasons why a Khasi calls his father's brothers by the same term as father, and the wives of these males, as mother, using of course a qualifying term for seniority and juniority. As noted before, a Khasi boy or girl calls his mother's sister's children brothers and sisters. He avoids them strictly in marriage. They are not like cross-cousins, marriageable under certain circumstances. Any sexual approach towards them would have led in the old days to exile and also excommunication. The children of the father's brother are similarly excluded from the category of marriageable persons. They are like brothers and sisters, and as such are addressed as Bap and Kong. They are referred to as Pure Kha. As Lehman observes, the term Pure conveys, when used as a prefix, the idea of having common rights or status. It also means, when used by itself, a younger brother or sister. The term Kha refers to relation by birth through a male. It is used for example in the combination Bah Kha, which denotes both children of cross-cousins, the children of the mother's brother, as well as the father's sister. A Khasi man (and) woman has literally another set of parallel cousins who are sexually tabooed. Their parents are given terms denoting the father and mother, with certain modifications. As the children of the father's brothers are also sexually tabooed, it would be natural to extend to them the terms used for the parents of the other group of non-marriageable cousins.

The close connection between the social structure of the Khasis and their kinship terms, is evidenced also in the case of the other relatives, by marriage. For a woman, the husband of the daughter is a son of another household, and is referred to by the term Pyrta, used for persons of the generation below the speaker when they are of another house-unit. Her husband also follows the same rule. The son-in-law is not the son of one who is the potential *summoner* of the speaker, in the natal house. But a distinction is necessary between the Pyrta who is a nephew, and the son-in-law. This is furnished by the qualifying term Kurim. For the same reasons, the son's wife also gets the kinship term Pyrta Kurim. We may expect that the reciprocal kinship terms, for the mother-in-law at least, looking at the matter from the house-unit view, will be denoted by a general term of this type. This general term ought to be applicable, with qualifications, to the reciprocal woman relative of the children who are termed Pyrta, *i.e.*, to the father's sister and mother's brother's wife. But the terms ordinarily used under the relationship between the houses of these nephews and nieces and their aunts noted above. The terms Kaia or Nia, and Kha have come from the relationship between the houses. This aspect of these terms has been discussed in an earlier chapter. Obviously an expression like Kaia Kurim would not emphasise the fact that the mother-in-law was a woman of another household. The term Syngkon is however used to denote the mother's brother's wife alternatively, and we find that the term Syngkon Kurim is also used for a mother-in-law. Although the father's sister and the mother's brother's wife have certain common aspects, we note that only a woman related by marriage with a male relative of the *previous generation* is referred to by the term Syngkon. Thus the wife of the father's brother is occasionally referred to as Syngkon, apparently when she is not being thought of as the mother of a pure Kha. The father's sister is naturally not termed Syngkon. The usage is therefore comparable to the employment of the terms Pyrta and

G. Chattopadhyay 8-4-5 (for date) 1941 ART Khasi ART

Pyrsa Kurim, for the reciprocal relations. Normally, however, 681
the mother-in-law is referred to by a separate special term which 682
does not stress this aspect of the relation between the two
persons.

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[p. 120]

IV. THE PLACE OF THE KHASI IN THE WORLD.

By

David Roy

[61] [60] [61] [77] The Khasi country lies in the hills of the province of Assam in North East India. Khasi clans are exogamous and matrilineal, and the Khasis speak a Mon-Khmer language.

[2] In speaking of the place of the Khasi in the world I intend to explain the Khasi's own view of his relation to other peoples of the world.*

[3] The Khasi is very conscious of his importance. He says a Khasi claims to be the centre of the world. The Khasi has acquired such a feeling of self-importance from his great confidence in himself; and this confidence he has derived from the position in which his relationship-terminology represents him as standing with respect to himself and the world around him. Or, rather, his relationship terms and language are an expression of his attitude and notions.

[60] The Khasi says—*Ka Kynia* (mother)

U Khun (son) — *Ka Kynia* (mother)

Which has-*Ka* mother

Himself (male) — His sister (female)

He calls this the family. Then he says—

Ka Kynia Ka (Father's mother)

U Kpa Ka (Father, Father's brother) (male) — *Ka Pa Ka* Father Father's sister (female)

[114] The writer of this is writable in himself a Khasi (Christian).

He calls this the world. So a Khasi places his family on one side :— 601

Ka Ensie (Mother)	*U Khun* (Son)	*Ka Ensie* (Mother)

which consists of his mother, himself, his sister, and, the world on the other side :—

Ka Ensie Kha (His father's mother)	*U Kpa.* *U Kpa Kha* (Father, brother)	*Ka Pia Kha* (His father's sister)

But he places himself again between that family and that world, and claims again :—

Ka Pia Kha (Father's sister.)	*U Khun Kha* (Father's son) (Himself)	*Ka Jubbin* (Father's sister's daughter)

Then he brings it nearer to himself and claims again :—

Ka Ensie Kha Ka u (Father's mother)	(u Khun Kha) (Himself, Father's son.)	*Ka Pura Kha* (Father's brother's daughter.)

Thus in the family—he stands between the mother and his sister ;—and outside in the world—his father—stands between his (the father's) mother and his (the father's) sister.

Thus in the world the Khasi stands between 602
his mother and his sister, and between his father's mother and father's sister.

This happens when on the death of his uncle he stands between, and on behalf of, his sister and mother ; and, on the death of his father, he stands between, and on behalf of, his father's sister and his father's sister's daughter.

On the death of his father's younger or elder brother he stands between, and, on behalf of, his father's mother and his father's brother's daughter.

human beings all over the four quarters of the globe (*phi mnieh ka pyrshat*) with whom, in the world, he can give in marriage and take in marriage, shows the nature which is believed to be innate in the Khasi, and his supposed power of moulding the world. His nature is to grow and to swell, to extend and spread out. It is against his idea of life to remain narrow or limited and reactionary. He is not to be made small or made an orphan, it will not do for him and his idea of the world to '*mih khlem khaw kalam kit*,' stay without kind and species, without child, without issue. A couple would even seek to separate if there are no children of the union. His idea is, so to say, 'imperialistic,' to grow and spread out. As I wrote elsewhere, "A Khasi marries men and women of all races; to his Khasi parent the issues are all one and the races without any distinction of caste or creed or colour or possessions. The children are the 'khun kha' (khun = child, kha = born, i.e. children who are born through the union of a descendant of the parent with a descendant of another parent), and these children are welded into families and are assimilated, in the Khasi idea of life, while these groups of families are bound to their mother and are made to revolve on this mother as the pivot of their existence."

Thus the Khasi shows :—

One sister's mother

Her mother

which is, = mother

the son of such a one = his kinswoman

On the other side she too shows = mother

Her = mother

which is = Father's mother

the son of whom = his kinswoman

In their midst the Khasi places himself always as the son of the world, thus—

For the species to increase and continue he says, Here—

The mother to bear and give birth—	—	The son of others	The aunt *ka sia kha* (father's sister)	Ia Ib

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601 ●
611

For the house to continue and the world to remain he says, Here—

The aunt *ka sia kha* (father's sister)	—	The son *u khun kha* (son of brother of *ka sia kha*)	The cousin *ka bakha* (daughter of *ka sia kha*) father's sister)	Ib IIa

For the person (captive) to crystalize, and the stainers (cyaning) to remain he says, Here—

father's mother (*ka ămie kha*) —		The son *u khun kha* (son of brother of *ka sia kha*, who is grandson of *ka ămie kha* (father's mother)	The cousin *ka para kha* (daughter of father's brother)	Ib IIIa

The Khasi knows the 'sang' (sacra, sacred, 684
that which is forbidden as sacred). He has experimented and therefore he says *ka sang iap* (lit., that which is 'sacred' or forbidden or taboo unto death) in the case of those who committed incest in the same *jaid*, kind, species, that is, those of the a group. It is sacrilege. There is no greater punishment than for this sin,—a punishment so severe that the Khasi will not permit the bones of these transgressors to enter the family cairn. Similarly they regard as an act of sacrilege for children of brothers (*shi para kha*) to inter-marry. This the Khasi regards as 'sacred', 582
that is, forbidden or tabooed, for those who are sprung of or connected through the same womb, and for those who are generated of and are suspended from or strung to one umbilical cord in origin, to marry. That is they regard as *sang* for the a+b man—woman group to marry the *b* son. [see Tables (I) & (II).

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

the husband. Whichever side is *jem ka ruriang* (*lit.* whose person is less strong, less able to resist the evil) will suffer death. The word *ruriang* means more than literally 'fortune.' The word *ruriang* goes with *rngiew* and the two are coupled together as *ka Rngiew ka Ruriang*. *Rngiew* is the person, the man's 'ama'. '*Ruriang*' is the encircling power produced by that person, hence *jem ka ruriang* means the power encircling the man's person becoming easy of being conquered or subdued. (*Jem* = easy, pliable.)

In a word, the Khasi's idea of himself is that he stands in the middle of the world. We do not find terms in the languages of peoples with the family system to express varieties of relationship to the extent that we have in the Khasi vocabulary. Some of the other languages content themselves with terms for father, mother, uncle, aunt, cousin. They have no words to differentiate the classificatory-descriptive system of terms showing relationship with mother, mother's elder and younger sisters (*mei, mei sun, mei suk*); father and his elder and younger brothers (*kpa, kpa sun, kap suk*) and father's brother's children (*para kha*), father's mother (*mei kha*), mother's mother (*mei rad*,) wife's brother (*kynam*), husband's brother (*kung*), and so on. We find in the Khasi sociology, departments of social organization indicating the attitude towards life which is peculiar to the Khasi. The terms are not mere names but serve to show well-defined groups based on an idea of their special functions. As Dr. R. R. Marett says, "Exogamy, and everything

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

CHAPTER II

KINSHIP STRUCTURE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS IN VARIOUS FORMS OF MARRIAGE

1. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AS SELECTION OF SPOUSE

The Khasi social structure differs greatly from that of the Garo, and one of the important differentia elements is revealed in their kinship terminology. The Khasi kinship terminology does not show the structural significance of the marriage rules except for the basic distinction between own matrilineal kin, *kur*, and non-matrilineal kin, *kha*; this distinction serves to enforce the exogamous rule.

All members of Ego's generation including both maternal and paternal cousins, are classed as *par* (sibling), and those of Ego's child's generation as *khun*. In these two important generations, the generation principle is the basic pattern in terms of marriage. Cutting across this principle, distinctions of *u* (*ka* for female, *o* for male) and order of birth (old or first, young or youngest, sometimes middle is added) are to be found. For instance, *ka-para-khun* is mother's sister's daughter, *u-para-kha* is father's brother's (or sister's) son. Wife is *ka-kit*, and husband, *u-kit*. The youngest daughter is *ka-khun-khaddiah*.[1]

Though the terminology of Ego's and child's generation follows the generation principle, the matrilineal structure is reflected in the following points apart from the distinction between *kur* and *kha*. 1) In the child's generation (*khun*), the matrilineal nephew and niece are termed *pyrsa* as well as *khun*, signifying the sociologically closest members of the child's generation. 2) *Kni* is the most important kinship term among the Khasi; it designates the head (and potential head) of the descent group, i.e. the mother's brother. The mother's mother's brother is also termed *kni*, just like among the Nayar the

1. For further instances, see U. R. Ehrenfels, 1952.

[P. 117]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

• 601 [171] term *mama* for mother's brother designates as well mother's mother's brother. 3) Terms for mother's sister *(kmie)* and father's sister *(kha)* are different, and, needless to say, father's brother is called *kpa*, not *kha*. 4) Mother's mother *(mawad)* is differentiated from father's mother *(mukha)*, though the grandfathers on both sides are termed *pawad*.

582 601 [171] As regards cross-cousin marriage, which, as we have seen, was an essential part of Garo social structure, the Khasi have no institutional arrangements. The cross-cousin distinction is indeed found in the Khasi kinship terminology. Among those who are called *pawa* (sibling), an additional term is applied to cross-cousins (both matrilateral and patrilateral). They are called *bakha*. However, this additional cross-cousin term should not be considered as indicating a preference [171] for cross-cousin marriage. This is structurally different from that of the Iroquois type discussed in terms of Garo kinship terminology, in which a preferred cross-cousin marriage is involved. The term *pawa* (sibling) is more often used for them than *bakha*.[1] Actually, among the Khasi there is no preference for cross-cousin marriage; indeed there are even indications to the contrary, in that marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is not allowed during the lifetime of the maternal uncle. In the same way, marriage with the father's sister's daughter is not allowed during the life-time of the father.

582 In fact, the Khasi have numerous prohibitions of marriages between near kin on both paternal as well as maternal sides. The first and second parallel cousins are avoided. Those related to father within three generations are avoided. Within such a framework of marriage prohibitions, the use of a special additional term for cross-cousin is an indication of marriageable relations within the framework of prohibition. This should not be considered to indicate a marriageable member in an active sense or a preference for cross-cousin marriage.

However, such marriages do sometimes appear in my census, for example, a man may have married a woman who is the sister of his brother's wife, or of his sister's husband. Thus sometimes between two descent groups there are more than two exchanges of men. But such relations are temporary and would terminate after one or two generations. There is no structural continuity. My censuses of four 582 Khasi villages do show some tendency to marriages between two 614 specific *kur*, but I consider this to be largely accidental. When the choice of an individual is random, but one or two *kur* are larger than the others, it will naturally follow that there will be a high frequency

[171] 1. Such use of the dual terminology is also found among the Ruts and the Trobriand (see the discussion, on pp. 154-155).

ring from the time it consists of an elementary family until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. (3 Chittagonian: 1961). Kin terms 601e
village. The terms of address given below are also terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khan village near Bandarban in 1961 by some regional variants. [1.4a]

Fa	[illegible]
Mo	[illegible]
FaElBr	[illegible]
FaYoBr	[illegible]
FaEl	[illegible]
Fa youngest Br	[illegible]
MoElSi	[illegible]
MoYoSi	[illegible]
Mo youngest Si	[illegible]
MoElBr	[illegible]
MoYoBr	[illegible]
ElBr	[illegible]
Eldest Br	[illegible]
YoBr	[illegible]
Youngest Br	[illegible]
ElSi	[illegible]
Eldest Si	[illegible]
YoSi	[illegible]
Youngest Si	[illegible]
WoBrSo, WoSiDa	[illegible]
FaBrSo, FaSiDa	[illegible]
WoBrSo, WoSiDa	
FaBrSo, FaSiDa	[illegible]

[illegible] AND FAMILY. Under, according to 584
the traditional courtship pattern, a group of young male relatives and friends made nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, approaching her through banana plots that she and her parents cultivated there, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15 and boys 17 years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 18 and the boy 21. The most common mode of marriage is elopement for Christians and non-Christians alike but some Christians marry in church and some Khasi still marry according to the traditional ceremony or some variation on it. There are no preferred or proscribed marriage types, nor is there a limit prior to three. Polygyny is the ideal for all [illegible] of moderate means. Sororate and levirate are [illegible]. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory Fyb and Fyb FyBrCh, FyMo, and FyMoMo. The MoBrSi is also prohibited. See [illegible]

Khasi Kinship Terms in four Dialects

By P. R. Chakravarti, Ph. D. (Paris)

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II. The List of the Kinship Terms
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I. Introductory Remarks

Professor R. P. Chattopadhyay (Calcutta University) published in 1940 an analysis of Khasi kinship terms[1] based on eight genealogies which he collected in the Nongthymmai area, about sixteen miles south-west of Shillong.[2] He discussed in this paper a previous publication by Professor Hutton[3] where special features of certain Khasi kinship terms are held to prove the pre-existence of a dual system in a one-time Khasi social order and he quotes also the late Rai Bahadur U. C. Roy's work on Khasi kinship[4] and lists of kinship relationship terms, contained in "Census of India Reports"[5] and Khasi terms in U. Nissan Lyngdoh's "Khasi-English Dictionary"[6], P. R. T. Gurdon's monograph on the Khasi[7] and in Sir Edward Gait's "Notes on Khasi Law"[8]. Discussing these previously published papers, Chattopadhyay arrives at the conclusion that Hutton's hypothesis of a dual organization in a hypothetical former Khasi society was not justified[9].

The present paper, however, does not enter into discussion of this

[1] Chattopadhyay (1940).
[2] Ibid., p. 1.
[3] Hutton (1921).
[4] Roy (1935).
[5] McSwiney (1931), pp. 74-75. The Census Report of 1891, quoted by Chattopadhyay (1940), p. 1, is not available to us at the time of writing.
[6] Nissan Lyngdoh (1936).
[7] Gurdon (1914).
[8] Gait (1934).
[9] Chattopadhyay (1940), pp. 97, 98.

Kh: Khroniks E-4,5 (1950) 1951 AR? Khasi AR?

question and indeed has been compiled without knowledge of Professor Chatterjee's work, and believe he very kindly sent a private copy of this work, which had not been available to me previously.

The present paper offers data on the following subjects:

1. Khasi kinship terms from the Mawsmai Khasi plateau-area in the Khasi State, about 20 to 30 miles south-east of Shillong, which are in some minor details different from the Mawphlang data, collected by Chatterjee, south-west of Shillong;
2. Comparative data from the War-Khasi;
3. from the plateau-area of Jowai in the Jaintia[9] Hills, and
4. from the War-Jaintia;
5. Aspects of the Khasi kinship terms, with special reference to the matrilineal order of society, and to the respective position of women and men therein, especially the particular consideration which the biological relationship through the father receives in kinship terminology, in spite of the emphasis on the matrilineal structure in Khasi society (comp. term No. 1 of the list and its discussion in para. 3.6 of the present paper, on p. 404).

The data were collected in field researches to which I was enabled by two Research Grants for comparative studies in matrilineal civilizations of India, given by the Viking Fund Inc. (now: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research) in New York, during the periods 1949-50 and 1950-51. My grateful thanks to the Foundation for enabling me to carry out these field researches, as well as to the University of Madras, for granting me Sabbatical leave for the same purpose, is here once more recorded.

My research programme was based on the first tentative working hypotheses, laid down in my book "Mother-right in India"[10], but includes also various other aspects of study which have not been pre-planned, or even considered then[11], as for instance also the present comparative study of kinship terms in areas of four Khasi dialects and their special significance to the Khasi matrilineal social system. The material was collected during a five weeks house-to-house study in the recently founded Plateau Khasi village Mawlyn Jri, during April and May 1950. This village consisted mostly of houses, owned by Khasi elder sisters and inhabited by them, with their families, after they had left the ancestral home in the main village Khawang, about one mile across the valley on the western side of the new settlement. The ancestral family houses there were in the possession of either the mother, or, if she was no more alive, the youngest daughter of the family, the *ka khun khadduh*[12].

[9] Jaintia, (Pnar or "Synteng") are the Khasi speaking eastern neighbours of the Khasi proper. As among the Khasi, so also among Jaintia the people in the cool plateau highlands are in many ways different from those who settled in the luscious tropical rainforests of the southern slopes, and situated just north of the East Pakistan frontier — the so-called War-country, where economy is mainly based on jum-leaf gardening.

[10] Gurdon (1914).

[11] Gurdon (1950-51), (1950-51), (1950-51), (1950-51), (1950-51), (1950-51), (1950-51).

[12] Gurdon (1914), pp. 60, seq., Gurdon (1950), p. 10.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

my informants at Pathá, in the year 1931, is said to have begun the cultivation of yam (*shnia*) and millets (*kwai*) in the then uncultivated slopes. He and his people used to be, on this account, ridiculed as monkeys (*shriah*). The Nonglamin clan took later to pan-leaf-, and arecanut-cultivation and became one of the richest landowners of the Wár-country. Others followed and imitated them. This clan (*kur*) is now residing at Nongtalang, about ten miles east of Pathá in the Wár-Jaintia slopes.

This possibility of a comparatively recent origin of the now economically independent Wár-groups among the Khasi speaking peoples is of importance to the question of some different terms in kinship terminology which the following lists will show.

Comments on other features in the relationship terminology, bearing on sociological or historical problems of either among the four Khasi speaking groups under discussion, are being hinted at in the text of the lists itself and further discussed in Part Three of the present paper, following the lists of kinship terms.

B. The List of the Kinship Terms

(n = the definite article masc. gen. ; tn — the definite article fem. gen. Both are prefixed to proper nouns and then express the meaning and function of the English Mr. and Mrs. (or Miss) respectively.)

No.	English	Pictou Micmac	Ste. Anne Micmac	Restigouche Micmac	Maliseet
1.	To give birth or beget	ska (noun: [my] ska)	ska	ska	ska
1.a.	To give birth to a girl	ska kwatkn	ska kwatkn	ska kwatkn	ska kwatkn (kwatkn)
1.b.	To give birth to a boy	ska skyewey	ska skyewey	ska skyewey	ska kyap (kyap)
1.c.	To give birth twice	ska nyaqt	ska kpaqt	ska nyaqt (or: nnqat)	ska kaqt
2.	Child	skyewit (with n and its respectively)	ska (or: skwatkn) (n and its)	skiya ki (with n and its)	kwatkn (with n and its)
2.a.	Childhood	ke jiyikwey skwatkey	ke jiyikwey skwatkey	ke jiyikkuwsit	ke kwtkahtuk
3.	Puberty of a girl or boy	aking weela (or: skyewsit	jim weela	aking skjikat	skyewey skwis
3.a.	Marriageable girl	ki weela (or: skyewsit	ke weela (or: skyewsit	ke skjikat	ke skwis
3.b.	Marriageable man	n weela (or: skyewsit	n wiika (or: skyewsit	n Skyewi	n skwis
4.	Woman	ke (or: ke kwatkn)	ke (or: ke kwatkn)	ke kwatkn	ke(or: ke kwatkn-muk/tuk)
5.	Man	n (or: n skyewsit)	n (or: n skyewsit)	n (or: n skyewsi)	n (or: n kpaqn-muk/tuk)
6.	Article of respect: n (instead n or ke)	for both sexes is a term of endearment used as honorific prefix, but has a contemptuous meaning in the jiamtia dialects			
	Parents:				
7.	Mother	n nen (addressing); kwis (referring)	n-kwi; — kwis	ke ke	ke ken
8.	Father	n jin (addressing); kjin (referring)	n jin; — kjin	n jin; jinn	n jin
9.	Siblings and maternal cousins	jiwis (referring only)	jiwis	jiwis	jiwis
9.a.	"Brothers"; as in the phrases	jiwis kwa — "Brothers Will (reference)" jiwis kwatkn — "Children Brothers"	— (?)	— (?)	— (?)

9

No.	English	Person Wheel	Wu Wheel	Pain (Gender)	Wu Gender
0.0	Maternal cousins	Jiāwa hai (his — Jiā)	— (?)	— (?)	— (?)
0.1	Paternal cousins (add half-siblings through the father)	Jiāwa bāu jiāo — family, or beginning)	— (?)	— (?)	— (?)
0.0	Older sisters or female cousins	Ong (-xiōnmíng) - Sunnore (-xiōnmíng)	Ge Ge	Jiāwa ma Gā	Ge Gā
0.1	Older brothers or male cousins	Gā (-xiōnmíng) - Sunnore (-xiōnmíng)	ā Gā	ā ma	ā Gā Sunāo
0.2	Younger siblings and cousins (and elder young kids)	Nā (-xiōnmíng) - jiāwa (-xiōnmíng if needs)	Gnā	Nāā	Ge — Jiāwa Jiāy — Nāchāo
0.3	Spouses	Gā	Gā	Jiāwa	Gā (or Jiāwā)
0.4.1	Kids	Ge Gā "friend" (-xiōnmíng) - Ge Nge (-xiōnmíng)	Ge Gā - Ge Nge	Ge Jiāwa	Ge Gā - Ge Jiāwy
0.4.2	Students	ā Gā (-xiōnmíng) - ā Nge (-xiōnmíng)	ā Gā - ā Nge	ā Jiāwa	ā Gā - ā Jiāwy
0.5	Nephew	Jiāwā	Jiāwa	Jiāwa	Jiāwa
0.5.1	Daughter	Ge Jiāwa	Ge Jiāwa	Ge Jiāwa	Ge Jiāwa Sunāo
0.5.2	Elder daughter	Jiāwa xunghāng (= jiāwāng) - Jiāwa	Jiāwa xunghāng	Ge Jiāwa wuāā — "Nge"	Ge Jiāwa jiāwāng
0.5.3	Middle or younger daughters	Jiāwa jiāwāng (= Nuāāng)	Jiāwa Gā	Ge Jiāwa wuāā — "Jiāwā"	—
0.5.3	Youngest daughter	Jiāwa Jiāwāng (= Jiāwāng Nuā — "Jiāwā the eldest")	Jiāwa Jiāwāā	Ge Jiāwa jiāwāā (= wuāā) — "Nge"	Ge Nge Jiāwāā
0.5.1	Son	Jiāwa	Jiāwa	Jiāwa	Sunāonne
0.5.2	Elder son	Jiāwa xunghāng (= jiāwāng) - Jiāwa (= Jiāwa, or xunghāng)	xunghāng (= Jiāwa, or Jiāwāng)	Jiāwa wuāā — "Nge"	Sunāonne
0.5.3	Middle or younger sons	Jiāwa jiāwāng (= — "Jiāwā, young")	Jiāwa Gā	Jiāwa wuāā — "Jiāwā" (= wuāā)	Sunāonne jiāwāng
0.5.3	Youngest son	Jiāwa Jiāwāng	Jiāwa Jiāwāng	Jiāwa wuāā	—

No.	English	Plateau Khasi	War Khasi	Pnar (Jaintia)	War Jaintia
	Ground generation				
r1.	Mother's mother	*ramud*	*ramdiah*	*lei pyra*	*ramdiah*
r1a.	Mother's father	*jlaid*	*jlaiah*	*jlaiah*	*ramdiah*
r1b.	Father's mother	*mei kha*[a]	*lei kha*[a]	*nda*	*ramdiah*
r1c.	Father's father	*jlaid* (or *jia kha*[a])	*jlaid, jlaiah*	*nda*	*ramdiah*
r2.	Mother's sisters (and female cousins)	*hala* (descriptive)	(?)	(?)	(?)
r2a.	Mother's elder sister	*mei sm* (*sm* = elder)	*mei sm*	*lei tuh*	*mei kyrg*
r2b.	Mother's younger sister	*mei khynnah* (*nnah* = younger)	*mei nah*	*lei duit*	*mei jong*
r3.	Mother's brothers (and male cousins)	*kli* (descriptive)	(?) *kli* is not used, but understood by "*Ka Khasi ion ach ki*" = "Mother's or wife's father" used for *Ka Kha* in *Ka Ian*)		
r3a.	Mother's elder brother	*kli jur* - *nut khyllah*	*ki kyll* (*ki kyll nuit*)	*ne ion* (addressing) *lei pakrieng*	*ichin kyrg*
r3b.	Mother's younger brother	*khynnah* (or - *ne khynnah*	*ki kyll nit*	*ne duit* (addressing)	*kyllum, ichin duit*
r4.	Father's sisters (s. will r1)	*ma kha*	*ma kha jaitbor, jia ion, or ma khynnah, ia, or khynnah*	*ebber, ma ion*	*ebber, jia ion or jia kyrg*
				younger: ma nuit	*younger: ngi*[b] *nam*[c]
r4a.	Father's brothers and cousins	*kpa kha*[a] (descriptive)	(?)	(?)	(?)
r4a.	Father's elder brother	*jia ion*	*jia ion or ingit*[a] *kyll*	*jia ion*	*jia kyrg*
r4c.	Father's younger brother	*jia khynnah*	*jia khynnah, or jia kyll, or ingit kyll nit*	*jia nuit*	*jia jong*

[a] *Ka kha* (*ingit*) refers to the general rule of relationship
[b] *ngi* — indicates themselves and respect among Pnar (and *Ka Khasi*) like *I* among Khasi
[c] *nam* — indicates descent ("coming from") among War (Jaintia), like *Ka* among Khasi

No.	English	Pashto (Eastern)	Wali (Ghazni)	Pakt (Zormat)	Wali (Jaghori)
	Brother's in-laws				
41.	Brother's sister's husband	eldər (lə ənə) younger (lə tlərəndi)	ejə (lə yildər and younger)	eldər (lə tlə) younger (lə ənə)	lə (with ə — ənə) (long ənə), younger (ejə)
41.a	Brother's brother's wife	ənə (yildər and younger)	ənə (yildər and younger)	ənə	ə
	Sister's in-laws				
41.	Sister's sister's husband	jəltiy (eldərən, ənə, ənə-ənə, ə)	tlə	eldər	ejə ənə
41.a	Sister's brother's wife	ənə (ə — ənə (ənə ənə, ejə — ənə tlə))	ənə	ejənə	ejə (with ə — ənə (long ənə), younger) (lə ejə)
42.	(v) ejənə and nephews	(ənə (with lə ənə) ə)	—	—	—
42.a	ənə and nephews on paternal side	ənə (ə — ənə (with lə ənə))	ənə ə (ənə (with lə ənə) ə yildər — tlə younger — tlə)	ənə (with lə ənə) ə yildər — tlə younger — tlə)	ənə (eldər (ənə (ə — tlə younger — tlə) (with lə ənə) ə)
42.b	ənə and nephews on maternal side	ənə (lə)	(eldər (eldər tlə younger — ənə)	(eldər (eldər's ənə children: (long eldər — eldər's brother's children: ənə ejə)	(eldər (with lə ənə) ə yildər (ənə (ənə younger — lə ejə)
43.	(f) ejənə and nephews	ənə (ənə (with lə ənə) ə) ənə — brothers (ənə — ənə)	—	—	—
43.a	Brother's sister's children (daughter (long) (ənə — tlə))	ənə ə (ənə) (lə — children of ənə eldər)	—	—	—
43.	(f) ejənə and nephews (ejənə) tlə/ə siblings	ənə (lə ənə ənə — brothers (lə — daughter))	—	—	—
44.	Cousin (male)	(eldər)	—	—	—
44.a	Brother's brother's (f) ənə (ənə (daughter) (ejə's eldər — (long eldər) younger — tlə) (ejə (ənə))	(eldər) (daughter) (ejə's eldər — (long eldər) younger — tlə) (ejə (ənə))	ənə (lə yildər, (with lə ənə) ə) ənə (ənə (younger), (with lə ənə) ə)	ənə eldər (with lə ənə) ə)	ejə yildər), (with lə ənə) ə) lə younger), (with lə ənə) ə)

No.	English	Person Word	Who Word	Role (Jamie)	Who Jamie
(1)	Father's sister's children (marriage with father permitted)	hatta (descriptive)	hatta bit (elder), (with 3m and -s)	ḥag watta (with 3m and -s)	ta tita (with 3m and -s)
		(Ego's elder female — ḥag (abbreviating))			
		(Ego's elder male — ḥat (abbreviating))	—		
		(Ego's younger — ḥaṭ (abbreviating))	hatta ṭus (younger), (with 3m and -s)		
(2)	Father's brother's children (marriage between para tita (children of brothers) generally not allowed)	para tita	ati (elder), (with 3m and -s)	para ga (with 3m and -s)	ta tita (with 3m and -s)
		(Ego's elder female — para ḥag[1] (abbreviating))	ona (younger), (with 3m and -s)	—	
		(Ego's elder male — para ḥat[2] (abbreviating))			
		(Ego's younger — ḥaṭ[3] (abbreviating))			
(3)	Cross-brothers	tāna ḥang (with 3m and -s)	tāna (with 3m and -s)	ta tita (with 3m and -s)	tyrana (with 3m and -s)
(3.1)	Daughter's children	tāna (with 3m and -s)	tāna	tita	gal
(3.2)	Son's children	tāna tita (with 3m and -s)	tāna tita	tita	tyrana
(4)	Foreground child (sometimes)	tāna ona	—	jakka tita (with 3m and -s)	—
(5)	Great-great child (sometimes)	tāna ṭus	—	—	—
	Descending Lines:				
(6)	Second child relations including uncle	a lit a ḥag (lit. ascended uncle and child sisters, female cousins and their children)	?	?	?
(7)	Friends relations as the descendant wife	tāna ust	mashuk (with 3m and -s)	?	mallina (with 3m and -s) mallina (with 3m and -s)

[1][2][3] ḥag, ḥat and ḥaṭ are not necessarily added if abbreviating there

Cross-Family Lines in the Tables

No.	English	Person Word	Who Word	Pair (gender)	Who (verbs)
08	Male relations to consid. (eg. nephew) (viz. a brother's, grandson, dad's brothers, etc.)	(ul)	gala	—	—
09	Male relations to the to dad's wife	tpa nal (with fix and -e)	gala (with fix and -e)	?	aalbana (with fix and -e)
10	Female relations to the father's wife	nana tha (with fix and -e)	<<< tha (with fix and -e)	?	aanana (with fix and -e)
11	All assistant relations	i fun (with fix and -e)	i fun (with fix and -e)	?	jana fun (with fix and -e)
12	All gendered relations	i tha (with fix and -e)	i tha (with fix and -e)		jana jtha (with fix and -e)

Relations of the ca-fans

13	Husband's or wife's sister	Nale	tha fanna (fanna — stan: magic, inferring — tha	fanna - with - to (or)	tha
13.a	Husband's or wife's father	Nale	tha fanna (not applied with wrong glasses when only)	inferring - was fanna - with - to ga	Nale
13.b	Husband's or wife's elder sister	Aag fanal	tah fanal	husband's - to Aag fanal, wife's - to Aag (also supported)	Nale (or - fajnal)
13.c	Husband's wife's younger sister	Aal fanal	Nale	husband's - to to fanal - wife's - to to	Nale (or - fajnal)
13.d	Husband's wife's brothers (elder and younger)	fanale	fanale	husband's elder - to Aag - younger - it to - wife's elder - a Aag - younger - a to	Nale (or - fajnal)
13.e	Husband's elder sister's husband	a Aag (Aag — generally a term for a female inferior)	tah fanal	to Aag	—
13.f	Husband's younger sister's husband	Aal	Nale fanal	to to	—

No.	English	Phnom Khmi	Wife Khmi	Pale (Chmhm)	Wife Jumle
10g.	Khmi's elder brother's wife:	Ang Kyet	myelee	Se Ang	Se. Kone (or: Kejeve)
10h.	Khmi's younger brother's wife:	Kaji Kyet	myelee	Se Se	Se. Kone (or: Kejeve)

Wife's co-ro-o-o (esp. daughters):

11.	Wife's sister's husband:	jhee shughhu (lit.: "brother-in-marriage")	jhee shug thu (lit.: "brother-in-marriage")	elder: a Ang younger: a Se	—
12.	Wife's elder brother's wife:	Ang (followed by proper name)	—	—	—
12a.	Wife's younger brother's wife:	Kaji (followed by proper name)	—	—	—
13.	Stepmother:	ani ani, Ama ani	ani ani	Se Ama/ [daughter — a jhi]	Se ani
13a.					
14.	Family:	Se Ang — Se ane (Some middle, or: Se Shin — Se Ani, or: Se Jhee — Shin — jhenng	chi Sne — chi ane	Ang	chi Sne — chi jhet
15.	Clan community:	I Sne — I jhet	I Sne — I jhet	Se Sne	chi Sne — chi jhet
16.	Territorial clan:	Sne	Sne	Sne	Sne
17.	Native (ancient):	jhet, jhet	jhet Kenjo	—	jhet Kenjo
18.	Adjective denoting people:	jhee Yme Sne (Sne — folk, ancestors)	jhee Yme Sne	Sne Sne jhee — Sneeme	jhee Je jhee jeng (jhee — Sneeme)
19.	Foreigner:	Ki 'Ang ani (chong — village; ani — star)	—	—	—
20.	Personpyb (anthropo-ani):	Jhee	Jhee	Jhee	Jhee
20a.	Nonclans:	Ki ang jheng (or: Jhet)	Ki ang jheng	Ki ang jheng	Ki ang jheng
20b.	Indians:	Jhee Sng (Ang — Sikh)	?	?	?
20c.	Europeans:	Jhee K (K — white)	?	?	?

III. Explanations

1. General

Most of my informants were illiterate. The spelling of the terms was checked and corrected by my English-speaking and writing Khasi and Pnar friends, mentioned in para one, to whom thanks are being here once more expressed. All responsibility for spelling mistakes, however, which may have slipped into this list has of course to be borne by me.

Blanks (—) or question marks (?) in one of the columns do not necessarily mean that there is no word used, by the respective group, for the particular term. They more often indicate that my informants did not use, or know, the particular term, or that I failed to enquire about it in a manner sufficiently clear to my informants. This is particularly true of general terms, partly or fully corresponding to English general terms, such as parents or grand-parents, or the terms No. 9/a and b, 11, 15/a, 19-20, and 26, which were partly explained to me, by Khasi friends in Shillong, where I stayed some time after completion of field-work during the rainy season. Hence I could no more return for verification to the little accessible Wiar-villages on the steep southern slopes. Although I am planning to utilize a future opportunity for such checking up, I am yet publishing the present results in the hope that they may thus become accessible to field-workers among other N. E.-Asiatic, and especially Austro-Asiatic speaking peoples.

All terms which are equal for both sexes (cf. Nos. 10, 11, 18, 19, etc.) are used with *he* and *a respectively*. Those word-determining prepared articles, as also the honorific *i* are specially mentioned in the list, only if this is essential for the understanding of the respective terms as in Nos. 3-5, 7, 8, or 19.

2. Special

Term No. 1 — to give birth or beget (*kot*) signifies also relation on the paternal side as in *pawa kot* (paternal cousin No. 5/c), in contradistinction to *pawa kur*, 5/b, (*kur* = cousin of the clan), i. e. maternal cousin, since the clan is a matrilineal unit. This usage of the word *kot* appears also significantly in the terms 15/a-c, 17, 18/A, 20, 25, 32 and, as an integral part of the Khasi kinship terminology, renders it highly improbable that the Khasi matrilineal system could have originated in ignorance of the biological function of the father. It is a significant feature in the matrilineal social system.

The terms 1 to 3/b refer to unmarried but biologically marriageable youths. It will be noted that there are (and were in 1950) no indications of puberty-rites for either girls or boys. There is also no child-marriage among Khasi. The use of special terms for mature, unmarried youths is therefore significant.

Term 6 — *i* as honorific article, is at the same time indicative of diminution[*], which is remarkable for two reasons: (firstly) the diminutive is used for the oldest and most respected family members, like the diminutive

[*] Khasi Grammar (1906), p. 40.

of father in Kinship (for the time, etc.), (usually) the youngest, and the eldest, daughter performs the family rites and inherits the family property.[1] Even in cases where there is no woman to inherit, the youngest, not the eldest son inherits.[2] Among the conservatively matrilineal Pnar (Jaintia) the term of diminution *i*, however, carries at times a somewhat ambiguous meaning, though the connotation is strongly in here also among them. The ambivalent position of this honorific term of diminution is thus significant (comp. term 9/e among Pnar and intra.)

Term 7 — *mother* (*ī mei*) — The prefix *i* used among Khasi and War Khasi signifies particular reverence (supra: term 6). The classificatory character of the term has been discussed by Gurdon[3] and Cantlie[4].

Term 8/*f* — *kyl* for all younger siblings, cousins and even other young folk does not indicate the considerations which the terms 9/*f* — *long* for elder sisters and female cousins, or 9/*e* — *kiat* for their male equivalents indicate. The term *nei* (9/*e* among Pnar) stands here, as generally, for elder and implies a honorific meaning (comp. term 6 supra and term 11/*a* infra).

Terms 10/*a* and *b* show that husband and wife address each other by equal terms and do in no way indicate anything like an inferior position of either wives or husbands of which I did also not find any indications otherwise. It may here be mentioned that property rights even in newly established estates, vest in women and are inherited by women, — not generally men.

Term 11/*d* — *ka khun khadduh* — the youngest daughter whose important position in Khasi religious ritual, social organization and inheritance law has already been referred to sub term 6 and depicted in detail elsewhere.[5] The affectionate character of this term finds vivid expression in the abbreviation *ka duh*, which I heard from sisters and the father of a youngest daughter.

Terms 11/*a* — *mei nai* (mother's elder sister). The word *nai* (elder) here has a definitely honorific character, although the *mei khynnah* — the mother's younger sister (term 11/*b*) may be the heir of Epi's ancestral property. This constitution corresponds to the peculiar significance of terms 6, 7/*a* and especially 11/*d* (supra).

Terms 12, 14, 15/*a*, 16, 16/*a*, 19/*b*, and the terms for cousins 21, 24, 27/*a*, 30/*b*, 33 show, like term 7 — *mother* (supra), classificatory character. The restriction on cross-cousin marriage is of different nature, according as to whether they belong to different households, or not, as has been discussed by Cantlie[6].

Term 16/*a* — *ka* (mother's brother's wife) is basically the same as term 15 — *ka kha* (father's sister)[7] though the latter is qualified by the additional term *kha* (begetting, birth) which signifies parental relationship (see table No. 2).

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[1] Gurdon (1914), pp. 45, 46; Cantlie (1959), p. 51.
[2] Cantlie (1959), p. 55.
[3] Cantlie (1951), pp. 55, 56.
[4] Gurdon (1914), pp. 45, 46; and Cantlie (1959), pp. 51, 52.
[5] Cantlie (1951), pp. 55, 56.
[6] In great measure to Cantlie (1951), p. 57

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

namely that each members of a matrilineal clan enjoy, among Khasi as among other matrilineal groups in India, a position which, far from unenviable, is a very high one in itself and doubly fortified by the respect which to the same male family member is being shown (a) in his capacity as the father of his children to his wife's clan (comp. terms 4 of the list), and (b) in that of the maternal uncle (comp. terms 10, 10a, 10b and 3b and 3b).

The terms 10/6, e.g.6, have classificatory character.

The term 10c — *u dong* for the husband's elder sister's husband is one of the exceptions of the rule that *dong* generally signifies an honoured elder female relative but, as in this case, also her husband (comp. term 3b).

Term 10d *u pa* (father) in its usage among Pnar (Jaintia), also for orphaned is significant. A Pnar child has no legal clan-relationship with his/her biological father, who belongs to another (matrilineal) clan than the child and mother. Yet the honorific term *pa* is, among Pnar, also applied to a stepfather, although neither legal nor biological but merely sociological relationship via the mother, exists between stepfather and child. This use of the word *pa* thus serves to emphasize both, firstly the integration of the matrilineal family structure, by making an unrelated stepfather to be looked upon as father, owing to his relationship with Ego's mother and, secondly the important sociological and psychological position of the father in this matrilineal family structure which appears to go back to an old tradition among the Pnar.

Term 10 — *jaew* 'my love'[4] (however 10 initials) are characteristically termed *jaew* (Brothers), although they are different in many respects, from the Khasi, yet considered as distinctly nearer related than all other neighbours, grouped under the.

Term 10 — *ditter* (plainspeople)[5]. — a term which varies in emotional content from contempt, pure and simple to an attitude, somewhat parallel to what ordinary English usage would generally associate with the expression "continental". Marriages of Khasi girls and boys with *ditter* do occur, though arbitrarily more than marriages of (especially educated) Khasi girls with (educated) *jaew* 'my love, Tripuras, Garhis or Chinese boys. One of the reasons which is usually being given for this preference for non-Indians is by no means colour-prejudice, but the taboo on other food or pork which most *ditter* eat.[6] Children, Khasis or Khasines, respectively) observe; a taboo which they generally extend to their Khasi wives, thus preventing them from enjoying her favourite Khasi national dishes. Another more psychological reason is the overbearing treatment of wives, which is generally exercised by *ditter* husbands more than by *ditter* 6.[7] It is in this connection

[4] Lawsky, Jaintiya Dictionary 1965.

[5] With *ditter* we have meant the plainspeople as such. — not the Khasi Khasi or Khasi clans which are exotic. I am always interested how newcomers who have been captured in the plains and brought to the Khasi Hills, using Caucasoid (1961), pp. 61-71 and Kaschewa (1966-67), pp. 57-75.

[6] Lawsky, Plainspeople 1964.

[7] Lawsky, Plainspeople 1966.

21: Ehrenfels R-4,5 (1950) 1951 AR? Khasi AR?

significant that the reason, given for the comparatively frequent marriages of Khasi girls with Chinese boys is not the greater physical resemblance which no doubt exists between the average Khasi and the average Chinese (Mongol) as compared to the average non-Chinese Indian (Indians, Europeans, Africans, Americans and others) but the belief that Chinese husbands are less domineering in their attitudes towards their wives, than are other Indian.

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